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The Southern Frontier

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*Equalization of Teachers' Salaries in North Carolina**

By N. C. Newbold

Gov. Ehringhaus' Commission

In June, 1934, Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus appointed a Commission of fifty-four persons and a Committee of fifty consultants to be known as the "Governor's Commission for the Study of Problems in the Education of Negroes in North Carolina". Half of these persons were white and half were Negroes. The Commission made the Study and presented its completed report to the Governor on November 26, 1934. This Study included eight points in the public school program. These were prepared upon the request of the Governor by members of the Negro Committee Groups and are as follows:

1. Consolidation and transportation of small schools.
2. Standard high school facilities.
3. Raising the average scholarship level of teachers.
4. Minimum eight months terms for every school.
5. Adequate buildings and equipment.
6. Providing preparation for a more differentiated occupational life.
7. Professional offerings for Negro youth in institutions within the State up to the limit which the State provides.
8. Teachers' salaries.

Recommendations

In the recommendations of that report of ninety-six printed pages are the following:

"1. That the differentials in teachers' salaries between white and Negro teachers, now in existence in North Carolina, be reduced approximately 50 percent in 1935.

"2. That the remaining differentials after 1935 be eliminated as rapidly as possible within a period of three to five years."

This was the first official recommendation in North Carolina that salaries of Negro teachers be made equal to those of white teachers.

It is appropriate to include in this article the following statement which appeared in the published report of the "Governor's Commission for the Study of Problems in the Education of Negroes in North Carolina":

"Changes in school legislation produced problems for every Negro teacher. The North Carolina Negro Teachers' Association, meeting at Goldsboro, November 23, 1927, heard two addresses which dealt with these vital problems, one by President S. G. Atkins and the other by Mr. N. C. Newbold of the State Department of Public Instruction, and as a result authorized the appointment of a committee of twenty-five from the membership of the Association to study problems involved in: (a) Teachers' salaries; (b) Length of school term; (c) Buildings and equipment. The report of this committee was necessarily limited in scope and findings because of the lack of availability of data. The report was presented to the Association in March, 1929."

Negro Teachers' Association

It will be both proper and historical to state that the representative of the State Department of Education recommended and urged that the members of the Negro Teachers' Association undertake the studies of their own schools. After the meeting, some Negroes said: "What can we do under existing conditions that would influence the State officials and the Legislature?" That was a logical question seventeen years ago. Such a question would not be raised in 1944. The Association, now with more than 5,850 paid members, has a Legislative Committee which is invited to appear before the State Board of Education, the Budget Bureau, and Legislative Committees which deal with public education, appropriations, and finance.

At the fall meeting (1929) of the Association, a steering committee was authorized. It was this steering committee, together with a representative of the State Department of Public Instruction, who went to the Governor, April 6, 1933, and requested the appointment of a commission "to study the State's program for Negro Education".

In his message to the Legislature on January 10, 1935, Governor Ehringhaus made the following statement: "I have myself also caused to be made a study of conditions peculiarly applicable to the Negro Schools in North Carolina, and the results of this study will be available for your consideration. We should be careful to see that justice is done our Negro citizenship."

Since that time, the matter of equal salaries for white and Negro public school teachers has been kept alive in North Carolina.

Gov. Hoey's Commission

On March 10, 1937, the Legislature passed a resolution authorizing Governor Clyde R. Hoey to appoint a "Commission to Study Public Schools and Colleges for Colored People in North Carolina," the members of the Commission to be represented by two from the Senate and three from the House of Representatives. Governor Hoey appointed these persons and the study was begun promptly. This study was completed in 1938. The Report and Recommendations are included in a printed bulletin of 62 pages. In this report the members of the Commission recommended, among other items, that the State appropriate annually approximately $250,000 to be used in the reduction of the differential between white and Negro teachers' salaries.

The Legislature of 1939, whose members had this report before them, made sufficient funds available for a beginning in the reduction plan. Beginning in 1938, the monthly salaries paid teachers from state funds have grown about as follows:

YEAR	WHITE	NEGRO
1938-1939	$133	$100
1939-1940	$133	$105
1940-1941	$133	$110
1941-1942	$133	$115
1942-1943	$133	$120
1943-1944	$133	$125

During each of these years provision was made by the Legislature for approximately $250,000 to apply on the reduction of the differential.

Equalization in 1944-45

On June 8, 1944, Governor J. Melville Broughton appeared before the members of the State Board of Education and recommended that the balance of the differen-

(*Continued on Page* 4)

* Dr. N. C. Newbold, author of this article, has been Director of Negro Education in the State Department of Education in North Carolina for over 25 years.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Annual Meeting Postponed

By vote of the Executive Committee the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, which would be held regularly on October 11, has been postponed. The date for the meeting has not yet been determined, but it seems likely that it will be some time between November 15 and December 7. The date will be announced as soon as possible.

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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

When rumors of a threatened race riot engulfed a Southern city last year a few citizens met with city and county officials to discuss ways and means for improving conditions which were felt to give cause for rioting. Two important facts were gleaned from the lengthy discussion which attended the planning. First, there was a great distrust of the so-called "race relations crowd," the do-gooders, those who act, as Everett Clinchy has said, "all in the name of God." Second, the official fathers were quite unmoved by the citizens' complaint of rumors and what they might do to otherwise quiescent community relationships. This led us to ponder why a stigma is attached to working with what we call lost causes? Why do we continue to play down the importance of common talk and unauthenticated stories in human relations?

Though no brief comment can provide a full answer to these questions it is possible to point out some of the symptoms that indicate the ailment involved. First, there is no more unpopular "cause" in the South than that of human or race relations. Many people believe that these relations should be more equitable but only a few dare go out and work for them. Since there is little material gain for the person who does give his heart and hand to such a cause, most of us can see no earthly reason why one would make himself a martyr. As one public official said, "Those folks just get in my hair and make me uncomfortable." Which is all to the good, as is borne out by the numbers of people who are joining the ranks of agencies and movements working for social betterment.

However, one distinct challenge is not fully met. The official continues: "Nine times out of ten they don't know what they are talking about. They get all worked up about something and come to you with a tear-soaked handkerchief in one hand, a Bible in the other, and sob stories on their lips. That kind just irritates you. I don't want to be in office when these people start learning how government is run and the facts as they really are. We'll have to do something then."

This brings us to this matter of rumor, which distinctly is not facts as they really are. The masses of people never really know the facts of their living, the facts behind their governments, their jobs, their health. Their economic, political and social lives operate, in the main, on what they hear indirectly, on what they sense from newspaper stories and radio commentaries. Rumor reigns in the South because we have not been willing to discover and propagate fact, which is both stranger and stronger than the fanciful fabric of regional, racial and economic prejudices we weave about ourselves. We need more do-gooders who possess fact and tact. We need more people who know how to squelch rumor with the truths of Southern life.

Southern Comment

"Hooliganism has no place in race relations in Mobile. Members of neither race can justify themselves in malicious unprovoked actions of aggression against the other.

"This has always been a community in which the races got along peaceably together, each understanding and adhering to the principles of Southern custom and preference. It intends to remain such a community. Let no hot-headed racial bigot, black or white, home-grown or in-migrant, doubt that if he expects to live long in Mobile without being separated from society by a set of bars."—*The Mobile Register*, August 12.

"The question of whether Negro teachers should receive the same pay as white teachers, where the qualifications are the same and the responsibility similar, is a matter that South Carolina must meet. And the best solution is to take the fair course, which is to equalize the compensation where on merit it is justified."—Columbia *State*, August 11.

"To argue that the Negro is better off in one section of the country than in another is exceedingly silly and beside the point, as anyone who desires to be honest with himself must admit that the Negro isn't very well off wherever he is. . . . But the task (of solving the problem) calls for a maximum of intelligence and understanding and a minimum of emotion and rabble rousing, among whites and blacks alike."—Bob McCracken in "The Crow's Nest." Corpus Christi *Caller-Times*, August 20.

"We have by our own action abolished the poll tax as a qualification for voting, we have without compulsion or court order equalized the pay of white and colored teachers, we have established for our Negro citizens a great system of public schools and a program of higher education and vocational training unequalled in the Nation.

"We have had no lynching in over 20 years and no race riot in over 40 years. In good faith, in a spirit of genuine friendliness and in spite of outside agitators, we are solving our race problems on a basis of mutual understanding and economic justice."—Radio address of Governor J. M. Broughton of North Carolina, Raleigh, August 7.

On Racial Discrimination

(*The Smithfield, N. C., Herald, July* 28, 1944)

There are Southern politicians who thrive on their outspoken advocacy of white supremacy because there is deep-rooted racial prejudice among many rank-and-file Southern citizens.

These politicians were described as "boiling mad" when the Democrats inserted the following plank in their platform adopted at the Chicago convention last week: "We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

If other sections of the nation obtain the impression that all the South is hostile to this plank of the platform, they have a wrong impression, because an increasingly large number of forward-looking Southerners know full well that Vice President Henry Wallace spoke the truth in his speech at the Democratic convention when he stated that racial discrimination in America is on the way out and they not only recognize the truth of the statement but they believe it to be their duty to exert their influence toward a hastening of the day when there will be no racial discrimination.

The racial equality plank adopted by the Democrats is but a reiteration of rights already guaranteed by the Constitution. The reiteration is necessary because there are politicians and selfish interest groups always seeking to circumvent the Constitution to deny Negroes and other race minorities in the United States opportunities for development and abundant living.

Forward-looking citizens of the South and of the nation do not oppose racial discrimination, however, merely because it is forbidden by the Constitution, but because it is eternally wrong and inconsistent with Christian principles which, after all, are the foundation stones of democracy.

The oft-predicted racial war in America will not materialize if the majority race honestly seeks to wipe out discrimination against the minority race. It is not a question of white supremacy or black supremacy—it is merely a question of whether a racial minority has "the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution."

An affirmative answer to that question will be both Christian and democratic—in keeping with the best traditions of American governmental progress. A negative answer will be in keeping with the methods of Hitler and the Nazi party.

The American Missionary Association Institute of Race Relations

By CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Fisk University

A group of one hundred thirty-seven Negro and white community leaders met at the Fisk University Department of Social Sciences, during the month of July, for three weeks of intensive study of current problems in race relations. Organized as the initial Institute of Race Relations of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association, the meeting represented perhaps the first effort of its kind ever to be held in the South. As a part of the regular program of the Race Relations Division of the Association, the institute offered an intensive and practical course of study of the problems and methods of dealing with racial situations. Growing out of the heightened racial tensions in many areas of the North and South affected by war migrations and the complication of the major social problems of these areas by the factor of race, the institute was a response to the expressed needs of workers and community leaders all over the country for information and guidance.

Membership

Of the total membership of one hundred thirty-seven registrants, there were fifty-five Negro members, eighty-one whites and one Japanese. Representation came from thirty-one states and the District of Columbia, covering a geographical range from California in the West, to Texas in the South, and New Hampshire in the North and East. These were persons of mature experience, involved more or less directly with problems of race relations as matters of practical and immediate concern in daily work. Among the group, forty-seven persons were from northern areas, while ninety were individuals working and living in the South. The majority of registrants were engaged in social, medical, public health and religious work; a fourth were teachers, educators and students, and slightly less than a fifth were race relations specialists, community workers and journalists.

Organizations and individuals of national importance were represented in the institute membership, in addition to scores of local groups and organizations.

Course of Study

The curriculum for the institute centered around four general interest fields: (1) Race and Racial Theories, including anthropological and psychological aspects of race and race relations, and comparative race relations throughout the world; (2) Racial Aspects of Social Problems, covering racial tension areas in the United States, problems of racial adjustment and integration in industry, labor, housing, educational institutions and the church, social planning for minorities in the framework of city planning, and post-war problems of readjustment; (3) Methods, Techniques and Community Planning—a review and analysis of methods and practices in dealing with racial situations; and (4) The Role of Personal Religion in Human Relations.

There were eighty-seven lecture and discussion sessions during the twenty-one day institute. The resident faculty, composed of thirty-six lecturers and consultants, provided a valuable source of guidance, information and stimulation. Some of the Nation's most informed leaders were in this group.

Discussion Findings

It is not possible here even to highlight adequately the exhaustive discussion and lecture sessions, although it is useful to outline some of the methods and techniques suggested for changing existing patterns of race relations. The following methods were mentioned:

(1) The organization of private and official committees for both emergency and long-range planning and action programs.

(2) Extension of labor organization membership, training in labor methods and disciplines and identification of racial interests with those of labor.

(3) Encouragement of Negro migration from solid clusters in the South to small towns and cities of the North and West.

(4) Intensive programs of adult education among the culturally isolated Negro communities, particularly in cities, such education to include the inculcation of expected modes of urban behavior.

(5) Programs of inter-cultural education. Special days, weeks, or projects devoted to the contributions of minority groups are relatively easy but only satisfactory as a temporary expedient. Successful intercultural education should be interwoven throughout the school curriculum, emphasizing the part played by all groups, rather than stressing a particular minority.

(6) Intelligent use of the Negro vote.

(7) Utilization, as educational material for employers, of the successful industrial experiences of Negro workers.

(8) Extension of areas of personal contacts and relations.

(9) Skillful use of the press, motion pictures and radio to recondition public attitudes.

(10) Utilization of the social function of the church.

(11) In the South where segregation laws exist, insistence upon exact equalization can either improve facilities manyfold, or deteriorate segregation because of the unsupportable cost of maintaining dual institutions.

(12) Use of emotional media such as music and art in the creation of favorably-toned situations in which hostilities disappear.

(13) Cooperative self-help projects as illustrated in the Flanner House urban experiment (Indianapolis) and the rural cooperatives in North Carolina and Georgia.

(14) Planned education of children in the school and family in respect for human personalities across the superficial barriers of race and class.

(15) Use of pressure groups and pressure tactics, properly timed and intelligently executed.

(16) A work camp program of the type developed by the Friends Service Committee for the employment of non-violent solutions of social and economic conflicts and for the development of intelligent social attitudes for participation in community life.

(17) Abolition of segregation in the federal government, which has vast contacts and establishments throughout the country. With the proper application of political pressure it should be possible to break down the pattern of segregation in federal offices and services.

(18) Abolition of segregation in the church. The churches are uncomfortable about their racial attitudes. It should be possible in many cases to establish the principle that churches ought to be places in which practices are more Christian and democratic than outside them. Also, the churches run many institutions such as hospitals and schools. The policies of these institutions could well be brought in line with the philosophy of human brotherhood.

Conclusion

A final word might be given as to programs of race relations generally. It was suggested directly and indirectly that a program or activity for better race relations might be successful to the extent that it is able to make whites and Negroes feel, with respect to each other, more like "we" and less like "they."

It is important, but not enough, to attempt to modify behavior of Negroes by asking them to behave more circumspectly. Likewise with efforts to change the opinions of white people by showing them movies, pictures and books of Negroes, as Negroes who have achieved success in one field of endeavor or another. To demonstrate that Negroes can achieve as much as whites is probably not alone going to change the opinions of persons who still feel that they belong to one group and Negroes belong to another.

It would in general be useful to consider each device employed in race relations carefully in the light of two questions: Will the doing of it engender a feeling of solidarity in the whites and Negroes who are collaborating in it? Will the results contribute to or distract from the separateness of these two groups in our American population?

Equalization of Teachers' Salaries

(*Continued from Page* 1)

tial as between the salaries indicated above should be removed beginning July 1, 1944, so that the salaries of Negro teachers and white teachers, so fas as state funds are concerned, would be identical thereafter. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, who is a member of the Board, offered a motion that the recommendation of the Governor be approved. This motion was carried by unanimous vote. In the budget for the school session 1944-1945, there was an allotment of approximately $250,000, which lacked only about $201,000 of being sufficient to eliminate all of the differential in 1944-1945. This difference was now provided, making the total for removal of the differential about $451,000 for 1944-1945.

The Financial Cost

While the statements above are both factual and historical, they do not tell the whole story, viz: What has it cost North Carolina in actual money to bring the salaries of Negro teachers and principals up to equality with white teachers and principals in all categories? This story is as follows:

1. In 1938-1939 the State School Commission allotted $118,000 to bring the maximum "A" grade Negro teacher's salary up from $96 to $100 per month.

2. Following that action of the Commission, the State Legislature has appropriated sums for reducing the differential as follows:

1939-1940	$250,000
1940-1941	500,000
1941-1942	750,000
1942-1943	1,000,000
1943-1944	1,281,250
1944-1945	1,769,657
GRAND TOTAL	$5,550,907

3. The further amount needed in keeping with Governor Broughton's recommendation as above, which was made available by the State Board of Education on June 8, 1944, was $201,000. This is included in the amount given for 1944-1945 above. However, the above Grand Total does not include the $118,000 listed under "1" above.

A casual glance at the figures for the six years listed above may not be sufficiently explanatory. Briefly, they mean that after the 1939-1940 initial legislative appropriation of $250,000 it required about that sum for each succeeding year plus the total cost for the preceding year; that is, until the current year, when the total sum for 1944-1945 includes also the $201,000 mentioned above.

The action of the State Board of Education, which body approved the Governor's recommendation, therefore places public school teachers' salaries, white and Negro, on an absolute equality basis in North Carolina, beginning July 1, 1944.

Here And There In The South

Southern Negro Youth

Twenty-odd Negro youth, a young white Southerner, and a young Japanese-American attended a two-week seminar conducted by the Southern Negro Youth Congress at the Atlanta University School of Social Work this summer. It was an amazingly successful seminar of young people who earnestly sought an understanding of the social problems facing youth of this generation.

The seminar said, "The valley of Negro rights has been flooded by the river of white supremacy. This is our fight to win the fruits of true democracy.

"We, as Negro youth, shall be crusaders for political justice, and securing our right of suffrage; educating the people in current and vital issues and stimulating the interest of our people. We shall try to promote good will and understanding among the races of our country and the world, thereby strengthening our great democracy and establishing economic freedom.

"We Negro youth will develop race-consciousness and instill in ourselves the value of self-confidence, dependability, self-determination, reliability. We will have an interest in personal appearance, personal integrity and the development of individual abilities and talents."

Miami

On Friday, September 1, and after a period of intensive training, five Negro men fully equipped with badges, nightsticks, guns, flashlights and authority became full-fledged members of the Miami, Florida, police force. The policemen were assigned to patrol the Washington Heights downtown section of the Florida city.

Another epochal move was made in Miami in late August when six white public officials, two county commissioners, two city commissioners, the Director of Public Safety and the Sheriff, together with six Negro citizens formed a committee "to do something." Said County Commissioner Grandon, "We don't want to sit around and talk. We want action and results. We have been talking about some of these problems for a long time. It's time now to do something."

The committee dug in on several things almost immediately—housing, health, transportation facilities, bathing beaches and schools. They were not fooling.

The Army

Our army included 698,911 Negroes on June 30, 1944. Of this number 5,957 were commissioned officers at all ranks from 2nd Lieutenant to Brigadier General. In the infantry were 44,869 soldiers. The artillery had 38,517, the engineers 128,789, the air forces 79,027. The remaining 407,709 were in other branches of the service.

The total number of Negroes in the army is greater than was the combined male population of Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston and New Orleans in 1940.

Segregation

Last month a War Department order directed all army post commanders to end the segregation of races with respect to the use of certain facilities on their posts. This official segregation, which had aggravated discriminatory practices, was terminated immediately at some Southern posts and belatedly at others. All in all, the reaction in the South was less violent than had been expected. However, the segregation-antisegregation lines of thought remained taut.

The Governor of Alabama wired President Roosevelt: "I protest such an order which violates a State-wide practice and belief and aggravates rather than helps. . . . It breaks down an essential principle of race relationship in the South and grievously handicaps those of us who are trying to bring about a better relationship between the two races and an improvement of both on equal bases."

The Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference, composed of 250 Negro ministers representing approximately 50,000 Baptists in the city, took this stand:

> "1. The Negroes of Alabama have been law-abiding citizens, having done our part both as civilians and as soldiers as far as we have been allowed. We realize that segregation takes away from the Negro his constitutional rights.
>
> "2. Because of segregation, the Negro has been kept out of the best institutions and technical schools, thereby impairing his preparation for the armed forces of the country.
>
> "3. As Negroes we believe in our democratic form of government, and we believe that true democracy should work throughout America for all people, and therefore, we emphatically deny the statement made by anybody, anywhere, at any time, that we are satisfied with the evils of segregation."

Piney Woods

The Piney Woods Country Life School is loated in Piney Woods, Mississippi. It is one of those realistic, down-to-earth schools that meets the needs of people who live in the country areas of the South. Piney Woods has problems that are not so usual these days. First, it is located in Rankin County where there is no public library for Negroes, nor is there a library in either of the adjoining counties of Simpson and Smith. The 8,326 colored children in that region must rely upon the books available at Piney Woods School.

But Piney Woods has no library building. Many of its books are kept in boxes simply because there is no place for stacking them, no place where the children of those three counties and their adult friends and relatives can come to read them. Piney Woods wants to change that situation, as it has helped to change so many others in the past.

You can help them build a library by sending contributions of one dollar or more to the Piney Woods Library Fund, Piney Woods Country Life School, Piney Woods, Mississippi. That dollar will really go a long way.